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The Classical Weekly

VOL. X

MONDAY, MARCH 5, 1917

No. 18

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GINN AND COMPANY

70 Fifth Avenue

New York

THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

Entered as second-class matter November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 1, 1879

VOL. X

NEW YORK, MARCH 5, 1917

No. 18

WAYS OF HELPING THE CLASSICAL CAUSE

Editorial

IN THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 9.105-106 reference was made to the work done, in behalf of Latin, by the Publicity Committee of The Wisconsin Latin Teachers' Association. One part of this propaganda might have received more attention—the series of articles on Latin, published in the Normal School Bulletin, a periodical issued at Madison, Wisconsin, by the Board of Regents of Normal Schools of Wisconsin. The number of this Bulletin for February, 1915, contained the following articles:

Latin and Citizenship, Dr. Grant Showerman, University of Wisconsin (116-117); Latin and the Use of English, Lucia Spooner, Teacher of Latin in the Superior Normal School (117-119); The Value of Latin for the Student of Science, Frances E. Sabin, Teacher of Latin in the High School of the University of Wisconsin (119-122); Latin and Practical Life, A. A. Trever, Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis. (122-125); The Value of Latin in the Professions, Mary D. Taintor, Teacher of Latin in the Milwaukee Normal School (125-127); Latin in the Appreciation of Art, Maud Latta, Teacher of Latin in the River Falls High School (127-128); Latin as an Administrative Problem in the Small High School, J. M. Brigham, of the La Crosse Normal School (128-129).

The names and the titles of the authors appear twice in the Bulletin as they are given above—on the page labelled Contents and at the head of the articles themselves. No one can help noticing that the articles were written in support of Latin by persons who are concerned with Latin as a vocation, who deal with it professionally.

All this reminds me of a passage in a letter received lately from Professor H. C. Nutting, of the University of California:

The School situation in the State of . . . is dominated by three men, all of them ex-teachers of the Classics, all of them bitterly hostile to Latin in the Schools. One of them, the State Superintendent of Education, ranges up and down the State promulgating his doctrines, and the other two, who are professors in the School of Education, second his efforts manfully. A student who takes Latin at the University is told by his fellow students that 'he is wasting his time on trash, for all the experts say that there is nothing in the study of the Classics'. In the University, of course, hardly any one will take the risk of preparing to teach Latin in the Schools, the prospect is so doubtful.

This is certainly a serious situation. It adds a sense of insult to injury that such men as Professor Nutting

has in mind are able to conduct their propaganda against the Classics with the aid of public money; one feels sure that the Superintendent of Education in question is not traveling at his own expense.

Is there any remedy? Here I quote again from Professor Nutting's letter:

The only expedient I can think of as at all likely to be effective is to comb the country over to see what School administrative officers, psychologists and educationalists have enough interest in our cause to make them willing to help us. I am sure that there are such persons, though they are not in the majority and though they do not talk loudest. An inquiry set on foot among classical men teaching in the large Colleges and Universities would doubtless put us on the track of the men available; for the teacher of Latin or Greek generally knows how the land lies in his own immediate vicinity.

If these people could be brought into alliance with us and into touch with one another, we should have some one to speak for us. When, in defense of our own house, we speak for ourselves, what we say is discounted. But if educational theorist takes issue with educational theorist, the situation is entirely different. We should profit in two ways: first, in having it shown that there are two sides to the question; secondly, in having the fight transferred to the field where it properly belongs.

Here is a quotation from a later letter from Professor Nutting:

Some time ago a group of legal students were talking on the Campus here, and some one spoke of the value of Latin and the recommendation of the subject by a member of the legal faculty. At which another said, "Oh, I guess that recommendation was written in response to a request from the Latin Department".

There is, on the very surface of things, one difficulty in carrying out Professor Nutting's plan to its fullest—in the amount of work it will entail in the way of correspondence, the expense for printing, postage, etc. To do this and other work that can be done—that ought to be done for the Classics, most efficiently, we need a central office, as a clearing house, in charge of some one of high gifts as an organizer, with a force of clerks to do, under the organizer's direction and careful supervision, the manual labor of preparing lists of persons to whom inquiries might be sent, of issuing circulars to such persons, tabulating and filing the information, etc.

But, in the meantime there is no need for us all to sit by idly, doing nothing. I shall be glad—so will Professor Nutting—to receive from any one information

along the lines suggested by Professor Nutting, and we shall do all that is possible to use that information effectively for the good of the Classical cause. Cooperation in this, as in all other matters relating to the support of the Classics, should be our watchword. If the teachers and lovers of the Classics throughout the country respond, as they should, to this invitation, it ought to be possible to get together a considerable body of valuable material, coming from persons not interested professionally in the Classics, to supplement the material put forth in the University of Colorado pamphlet on The Value of Latin and Greek (see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 8.113-115, 121-122), the University of Mississippi pamphlet (10.105), the University of South Dakota pamphlet (10.105-106, 113-114), and other pamphlets to be mentioned in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY, or such pamphlets as The Practical Value of Latin, issued by The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, and consisting chiefly of utterances in support of the Classics by lawyers, physicians, journalists, scientists, educators (not classical instructors).

One other reflection is suggested by the number of the Normal School Bulletin referred to at the beginning of this article, as well as by a consideration of the other material issued by the Publicity Committee of the The Wisconsin Latin Teachers' Association. It is that the Committee and the writers in the Bulletin have been wise in suggesting that a wide variety of values attaches to the study of Latin. This reminds me of a very suggestive paper published by Professor Nutting in School and Society 4.858-859 (December 2, 1916), under the title The Cumulative Argument for the Study of Latin. We have space for just a couple of quotations from the paper.

It is the felicitous combination of eight or ten different values in the study of a single language that assures to Latin its unique place, alongside of mathematics, in the curriculum of the secondary school.

That some one of these values, taken by itself, is not a sufficient warrant for the choice of Latin as a language study makes little or nothing against the case for Latin.

The second danger in the line of argumentation pursued by Professor Keller and others is that, in order to bring out into sharp relief the one value on which they would stake the case, there is a constant temptation to disparage all the other arguments for the study of Latin.

It is entirely natural that one observer should be inclined to stress one benefit to be derived from the study of Latin while a second benefit will seem to another observer to be all important. But this circumstance must not be allowed to blind any to the fact that the case for Latin rests upon its many values, not upon one alone. The study of Latin combines advantages not matched by the study of any other foreign language; and there would be nothing to fill its place, if it were to be dropped from the school curriculum.

This editorial may be brought to a close with a reference to another activity of the Publicity Committee of the Wisconsin Latin Teachers' Association. This is a leaflet, of one sheet, printed on both sides (12 inches by 8), entitled Latin Notes, published monthly, in the

second week of the month, at the "Latin Laboratory maintained in connection with the course for the training of Latin teachers at the University of Wisconsin". All communications concerning Latin Notes should be addressed to Miss Frances Sabin, 419 Sterling Place, Madison, Wisconsin. Four numbers have appeared. The contents of these have been as follows:

(1) What the Latin Cause in Wisconsin has a Right to Expect; Practical Suggestions for the Young Teacher; Information which the Latin Teacher may Find Useful (Books, Slides, Scrapbooks); Professional Items; For the Teacher's Bulletin Board; Can you Guess these Puns? The Answer is the Latin of the Word in Black Type.

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C. K.

MORE MODERN VERSIONS OF THE HARMODIUS HYMN

In his collection of modern versions of the Harmodius and Aristogeiton Hymn (THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 9.82-86), as Professor Lane Cooper has pointed out (THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 9.109-110), Dr. Mierow did not include the translation by Wordsworth. In neither article has mention been made of the rendering by Thomas Moore, that remarkable Irish poet (1779-1852), the author of Lalla Rookh, who possessed a considerable amount of classical scholarship, and who wrote a Greek ode himself as an introduction to his translation of the Odes of Anacreon. He knew Pindar and Sappho and many other Greek and Latin authors. He translated several of the songs and epigrams of the Greek Anthology, especially of Meleager, Paul the Silentiary, Philodemus, Simonides, and Antipater Sidonius. He translated some of Horace and imitated Catullus, Martial, and Tibullus. The Evenings in Greece, Alciphron, Aspasia, The Grecian Girl's Dream of the Blessed Islands, and many others of his poems have classical themes, or contain classical allusions. Thomas Moore is known to the classical student especially for his translation of the Odes of Anacreon and of those graceful trifles called Anacreontics, which he annotated with notes showing wide classical learning and reading. He was evidently much interested in the Anthologia Lyrica, and translated not only the Odes of Anacreon, but the famous fragment of Sappho, imitated by Horace and Landor, which vies with Margaret's weaving song in Faust, and which is found in Addison's

Anacreon (1735) and was printed with the Odes of Anacreon and the Harmodius Hymn in the old editions of Brunck (those of 1786 and 1829 are alone accessible to me. Moore, however, seems to have used the still earlier edition [1721] of Barnes for his translations of Anacreon and the Anacreontics). The Evenings in Greece were actually intended for dramatic production, and were written in 1825 for certain musical publishers. They are a series of graceful drawing-room songs, strung together on a slight thread of narrative, Moore's object being to combine recitation with music. The Sappho fragment is used for one of the songs in the First Evening in Greece, and it is well worth quoting, since, as Moore says, it is one of those fervid fragments,

Which still,—like sparkles of Greek Fire,
Undying, even beneath the wave,—
Burn on thro' Time and ne'er expire.

The Song itself runs as follows:

As o'er her loom the Lesbian Maid
In love-sick languor hung her head,
Unknowing where her fingers strayed,
She weeping turned away, and said,
"Oh, my sweet Mother—'t is in vain—
I cannot weave, as once I wove—
So wildered is my heart and brain
With thinking of that youth I love!"

One of the songs of the Second Evening is the Harmodius Hymn, or rather a very fine rendering and expansion of it with especial emphasis on that line which has influenced so many Greek epigrams, *φίλτραθ'*

'Αρμόδι', οὐτι που τέθνηκας'.

Their tale thus told and heard with pain,
Out spread the galliot's wings again;
And as she sped her swift career
Again that Hymn rose on the ear—
"Thou art not dead—thou art not dead!"
As oft't was sung in ages flown
Of him, the Athenian, who to shed
A tyrant's blood poured out his own.

Song

Thou art not dead—thou art not dead!
No, dearest Harmodius, no.
Thy soul to realms above us fled
Tho' like a star it dwells o'er head
Still lights this world below.
Thou art not dead—thou art not dead!
No, dearest Harmodius, no.
Thro' isles of light where heroes tread
And flowers ethereal blow,
Thy god-like Spirit now is led,
Thy lip with life ambrosial fed
Forgets all taste of woe.
Thou art not dead—thou art not dead!
No, dearest Harmodius, no.
The myrtle round that falchion spread
Which struck the immortal blow,
Throughout all time with leaves unshed—
The patriot's hope, the tyrant's dread—
Round Freedom's shrine shall grow.
Thou art not dead—thou art not dead!
No, dearest Harmodius, no.

¹To this Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 980, refers, and the scholiast makes the skolion begin with that line, though none of our modern editions does so. Aristides 11.80 (Dindorf edition, I.133), says, *καλὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν σκολίοις ὥστε Ἀρμόδιον εἶδεν* "Ὅδ' ἵ που τέθνηκας" λέγοντας.

Where hearts like thine have broke or bled,
Tho' quenched the vital glow,
Their memory lights a flame instead,
Which even from out the narrow bed
Of death its beams shall throw.
Thou art not dead—thou art not dead!
No, dearest Harmodius, no.

Thy name, by myriads sung and said,
From age to age shall go,
Long as the oak and ivy wed,
As bees shall haunt Hymettus' head,
Or Helle's waters flow.
Thou art not dead—thou art not dead!
No, dearest Harmodius, no.

There is much here that is not in the Greek, but the spirit and fire and ideas of the original are beautifully rendered. Even the refrain effect is well given. The worst fault is the utter neglect of Aristogeiton, but Harmodius was the more famous, since he lost his life in doing the deed, while Aristogeiton escaped, to be arrested and put to death later. The names of Achilles and Tydides also are omitted, as in Sandford's version, and we have the substitution "where heroes tread". The lines "still lights this world below" and "Their memory lights a flame instead" remind one of the epitaph attributed to Simonides, who lived at Athens in the reign of Hipparchus (Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, 4th Edition, reprinted in 1914, 3.477, No. 131): 'Truly a great light dawned on the Athenians when Aristogeiton and Harmodius slew Hipparchus'. The martial and victorious spirit of the original is better rendered by Moore in another earlier version (1800), not so free, called *In Myrtle Wreaths*, by Alcaeus

In myrtle wreaths my votive sword I'll cover,
Like them of old whose one immortal blow
Struck off the galling fetters that hung over
Their own bright land, and laid her tyrant low.
Yes, loved Harmodius, thou 'rt undying;
Still midst the brave and free,
In isles, o'er ocean lying,
Thy home shall ever be.

In myrtle leaves my sword shall hide its lightning,
Like his, the youth, whose ever-glorious blade
Leapt forth like flame, the midnight banquet
brightening,
And in the dust a despot victim laid.
Blest youths, how bright in Freedom's story
Your wedded names shall be;
A tyrant's death your glory,
Your meed, a nation free!

Here Moore begins with the line which comes first in Athenaeus (15.695), and is quoted by Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 632. Here, as in the other version, all proper names, except Harmodius, which occurs only once, are omitted. Athens, Achilles, Tydides, Athena, Aristogeiton are not mentioned, perhaps that the version may make a more universal appeal to those who love liberty, and that the *skolion* may be applicable to any tyrant-slayer. In Sandford's martial version likewise only the proper names Athens and Harmodius occur, the latter only once, in the last stanza. In

some versions, such as Peter's³, which is one of the best, the names of Aristogeiton and Harmodius are entirely lacking. In Denman's two versions Aristogeiton is omitted entirely, as in Moore's two versions, and Harmodius is mentioned only once. In one of his versions Achilles and Diomedes are also omitted. Reference is made, however, by Moore to the fact that there were two tyrant-slayers, and in that respect this version of Moore is truer to the original than the song in the *Evenings in Greece*; and yet the translation is still very free. For example, there is nothing in the Greek to correspond to the "blade leapt forth like flame, the midnight banquet brightening". Perhaps, as Croiset suggests, the myrtle refers to the myrtle wreath of the banqueters, and Moore is thinking of the banquet, and so entitled his translation *In Myrtle Wreaths*. The murder was done in the daytime and not at midnight. For line 4 compare Denman's "laid the tyrant low", and for line 6 his "the noble and the brave".

It is to be noted that Moore assigns the song to Alcaeus, but the Lesbian Alcaeus died about 580 B. C., and certainly did not celebrate the assassination of Hipparchus in 514, nor is the meter the Alcaic verse. Athenaeus (15.694 A ff.) cites this song in a sort of *Kommersbuch*, but fails to mention the author. So also Aristophanes (*Acharnians* 980, 1093, *Wasps* 1225, *Lysistrata* 632), Antiphanes (*Frag.* 4), Aristides (ed. Dindorf, 1.131), and other ancient writers refer to the song, but do not give the name of the author. It was generally called simply *The Harmodius*, or *Harmodius's Song*. Hesychius is the only writer who gives the name of the author and he attributes the song to Callistratus, otherwise unknown. I have tried to find the reason for Moore's attribution to Alcaeus, and I find that in Brunck's *Anacreontis Carmina* (1786), page 86, and in his *Analecta* 1.155, the skolion is assigned to Callistratus (also in the edition of 1829). In Jacobs's *Anthologia Graeca* also (based on Brunck), for the year 1794, 1.88, No. VII, I find it ascribed to Callistratus. As these books of Brunck must have been accessible to Moore, and as he used Brunck for some of his other translations from the Greek Anthology, the mistake is surprising, especially as Schweighäuser's edition of Athenaeus (1801) correctly gives the name of Callistratus. Moore may have used some other edition than that of Brunck, for he seems to have used the old edition of Barnes (London, 1721) instead of Brunck for his translation of the Odes of Anacreon and the *Anacreontics*. Moore is not the first to make the mistake, however, for Collins, in his *Ode to Liberty* (1747), said:

What new Alcaeus, fancy-blest
Shall sing the sword, in myrtles drest,
At Wisdom's shrine its flame concealing
(What place so fit to seal a deed renowned?)
Till, she her brightest lightnings round revealing,
It leap'd in glory forth and dealt her prompted wound?

It is very likely that Moore knew these lines. Keble,

³Peter's version, found in Felton's *Greece, Ancient and Modern*, 1.371, is quoted, with some errors, in Davis's *Readings in Ancient History* (1912), 1.118.

a contemporary of Moore, in *The Christian Year*, Third Sunday in Lent (1827), speaks of "the sword in myrtles drest". The lines evidently were popular in his day, and the verses

In myrtle leaves my sword shall hide its lightning,
Like his, the youth, whose ever-glorious blade
Leapt forth like flame, the midnight banquet brightening,

are an echo of Collins,

its flame concealing

Till, she her brightest lightnings round revealing,
It leap'd in glory forth.

The words "flame", "bright" ("brightest" in Collins, "brightening" in Moore), "lightning", "leap'd forth", "glory" ("glorious" in Moore; compare "glory" in the lines of Byron cited below, and in the other version of Moore) occur in both, and this cannot be accidental, especially as the idea is not in the original Greek song. And yet I have seen no statement anywhere to this effect. Probably, then, Moore got the idea of Alcaeus from William Collins, who not only mentioned him in the *Ode to Liberty*, but added a note saying "alluding to that beautiful fragment of Alcaeus": and then quoted the Greek with the omission, however, of six lines, two after line 2, two after line 4, and two at the end. This omission may account for Moore's failure in either of his translations to mention Achilles and Tydides, though his phrase "where the heroes tread" seems to imply that he knew lines 7 and 8. Many of the editions of Collins (even that of Little, Brown and Co., 1853) give all sixteen lines of the Greek. Ward's *Poems of Johnson, Goldsmith, Gray, and Collins*, in *The Muses' Library*, 294 (1912), which is supposed to follow the Aldine text, quotes all the lines in the note on the *Ode to Liberty*, and says, "alluding to that beautiful fragment wrongly attributed to Alcaeus". The volume on Collins in the Aldine Edition of the *British Poets*, 39 (1866), and the edition of Walter C. Bronson (1898) give Collins's note correctly, with his omissions. I have also consulted the edition of Collins's *Odes on Several Descriptive and Allegoric Subjects*, printed for A. Millar in 1847 (the date of the *Ode to Liberty*), and find that the same lines are omitted there. Langhorne also thought this song belonged to Alcaeus, for in his *Observations on the Odes* he says:

This alludes to a fragment of Alcaeus still remaining in which the poet celebrates Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who slew the tyrant Hipparchus, and thereby restored the liberty of Athens.

That in the eighteenth century the hymn was often attributed to Alcaeus is shown also by the note of Robert Lowth (1710-1791). Compare Gregory's translation of Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*. I have consulted an edition by Stowe (1829), where, on page 19, the hymn is quoted as by Callistratus. On page 305 the translation of Sir William Jones⁴

⁴The translation is ascribed to Sir William Jones, but it is somewhat different from that in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1833, 887, and the omissions and changes make a great improvement. The realistic lines objected to by Dr. Mierow, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 9.83, are omitted.

is given, and Lowth says, "This skolion some have attributed to Alcaeus, but not conformably with strict chronology", etc. The note in Dindorf's *Aristides* 1. 133 (1829), "Confer Alcaei fragmenta", shows that scholars as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century did frequently attribute the song to Alcaeus.

It is not so very remarkable, then, that Thomas Moore thought that the author was Alcaeus, who was a vigorous opponent of tyrants, who was a writer of skolia (skolia of Alcaeus are given as early as 1556 in Stephanus's edition of Anacreon and other lyric poets; compare also Aristotle, *Politics* 1285 A 35, the Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1239, Athenaeus 15.693 and 11.503. In the latter passage a fragment of Antiphanes mentions the Telamon skolion along with the Harmodius). One fragment (Bergk, 3.167, No. 48 A) makes it likely that Alcaeus wrote one of the skolia cited in the *Kommerstuch* (compare Bergk, 3.649, Nos. 17-18). Thomas Moore was simply following Collins and the opinion of many writers of his own time, and he failed to look up all the texts, or all the opinions available in his time, many of which (some are cited above) gave the name of Callistratus.

One more point I should like to touch on, and that is that the Harmodius Song was the Marseillaise or National Anthem of Athens, a true Song of Liberty, as Dr. Mierow says; and therefore it was especially popular when ideas of liberty were in the air, e. g. just after the time of the American and the French revolutions, and especially at the time of the Liberation of Greece from the Turks (1822-1830). In 1830, by the second protocol of London, Greece was declared an independent and sovereign kingdom; in 1833 a regency was established, and King Otho came to Greece. This is the very year in which Blackwood's Magazine contained so many translations of the Harmodius Hymn. Ten (really eleven, for Gregory's translation is a paraphrase of that by Jones) out of the seventeen cited by Dr. Mierow are in Blackwood's Magazine for 1833, though some of these were written long before 1833. It is interesting to see when these translators lived. Cumberland lived 1732-1811; Denman, 1779-1851 (one of his two translations was said in the Murray edition of Byron to be the best). Both of Denman's translations occur in Bland's *Collections from the Greek Anthology* 122-123 (1813), and in Wellesley, *Anthologia Polyglotta* 444 (1849), which also gives Sandford's version, a Latin translation by De Teissier, and a German rendering by Christian von Stolberg. The version of Denman not cited in editions of Byron is given in George Burges, *The Greek Anthology* (Bohn series), along with a prose version and Elton's poetic rendering (which appeared in 1814), and in the Ridpath Library of Universal Literature, 4.470, as well as in Smith's *History of Greece*, which Dr. Mierow cites. Gregory's rendering, in his translation of Lowth's *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, appeared

⁴Perhaps C. C. C. Oxoniensis is the Rev. Charles Cox of Worcester College, Oxford. J. L. E. may be John Edwards.

in 1787, and is a paraphrase of that by Sir William Jones, who lived 1746-1794. Christopher North, whose real name was John Wilson, lived 1785-1854. Sandford and Wrangham wrote at the end of the eighteenth century. Wordsworth's version (not given by Dr. Mierow, but added by Professor Cooper, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 9.109-110) is assigned by Knight (*The Classical Review* 15.82) to the first decade of the nineteenth century, and Professor Cooper calls attention to the fact that Wrangham and Wordsworth in 1795-1796 "collaborated in an imitation of Juvenal, which was to strike at contemporary tyrants in England". Wordsworth's reference to Harmodius and Aristogeiton in the *Prelude* dates from 1804. To the poetic translators of the hymn, who wrote before 1833, should also be added Thomas Moore, whom we have considered above, and Henry James Pye (1745-1813), whose translation is an elegant rendering of the original (both of them omitted in Blackwood's Magazine, 1833, and in Dr. Mierow's list). To show the popularity of the hymn in the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth century, it should be said that not only were there many translations, but frequent references were made to the hymn. So Keble, in his *The Christian Year*, Third Sunday in Lent (1827), VII, line 2, uses the words of Collins "the sword in myrtles drest". Byron, who was an intimate friend of Moore, to whom he dedicated *The Corsair*, and for whom he had a great enthusiasm, says in *Childe Harold* 3.20 (1816)

Glory is when the myrtle wreathes a sword
Such as Harmodius drew on Athens' tyrant lord.

Compare Moore's "A tyrant's death your glory" and Collins (cited above). In *The Age of Bronze*, 6 (1823), Byron says "The Athenian wears again Harmodius' sword", alluding to the Greeks murdering their Turkish prisoners, at the time of the capitulation of Athens, June 21, 1822. The edition of Byron's works made in 1855 by Murray (based on that of 1832-1833) translates the first stanza. Thomas Moore had a large part in the preparation of that edition, and he may have been the author of the following version. The words "cover" and "brave" are an echo perhaps of Moore's *In Myrtle Wreaths*. The lines remind one, however, more of Denman's "Like our patriots the noble and brave" and "bade our dear country be free", a version which Moore undoubtedly knew. Byron, himself, could not have written the lines, since I have not found them in the edition of the *Age of Bronze* printed for John Hunt in 1823.

Cover'd with myrtle-wreaths, I'll wear my sword
Like brave Harmodius, and his patriot friend
Aristogeiton, who the laws restored,
The tyrant slew, and bade oppression end.

Since the appearance of Blackwood's Magazine for 1833, there have been few translations. That attributed to Edgar Allan Poe by Ingram (*The Tales and Poems of Poe*, 4.330, London, 1884) appeared only two years later in the *Southern Literary Messenger* (Decem-

ber, 1835), and is found in such editions as Harrison, *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, 7.250. The translation by Edwin Arnold (1832-1904) was published in 1869. The rendering by Milman (1791-1868), which repeats Wordsworth's line "Gave to Athens equal laws" and his words "freedom's cause", and Byron's "tyrant lord" appeared a few years earlier, Peter's in 1847, and Walsh's in 1854. The only modern poetic version cited by Dr. Mierow is Conington's, in Symonds's *Greek Poets*. Several more have been published. Excellent is that of Professor Frank M. Bronson in *Walter C. Bronson's Poems of William Collins*, 106 (1898):

In bough of myrtle I my sword will carry,
As did Harmodius and Aristogeiton
That day the twain struck down the tyrant,
And gave Athenians equal rights of freemen.

Harmodius dear, thou hadst no part in dying,
But in the Blessed Isles men say thou bidest,
Where dwell (men say) the fleet Achilles
And Diomedes, noble son of Tydeus.

In bough of myrtle I my sword will carry,
As did Harmodius and Aristogeiton,
When at the festal rites of Pallas
The twain struck down Hipparchus the usurper.

Wide as the world shall ever be your glory,
Dearest Harmodius and Aristogeiton,
For that ye twain struck down the tyrant,
And gave Athenians equal rights of freemen.

Other modern translations are those of Brooks (*Greek Lyric Poets*, 178 [1896]), Fairclough⁵ (*Warner's Library of the World's Best Literature*), Miss Thallon (*Readings in Greek History*, 136 [1914]), and most recently that of Sihler (*Botsford and Sihler, Hellenic Civilization*, 201 [1915]), and a rendering (with no author named), in J. C. Stobart, *The Glory that was Greece*, 114 [1915]. Miss Thallon's "Dearest Harmodius, thou didst not die anywhere", is hardly correct. The Greek means rather 'Surely it cannot be that thou hast died'. Professor Fairclough's version is better than these others and has echoes (unconscious, perhaps) of Byron, Milman, Elton ("Beloved Harmodius"), Wordsworth, and others. Fairclough has "And equal laws to Athens gave"; Wordsworth "Gave to Athens equal laws"; Milman "And gave to Athens equal laws". Miss Thallon has "And gave equal laws to all in Athens". To get a rime with "brave" we have the line "Through tyrant Hipparchus the sword they drave" in Fairclough's version. Fairclough's "Tyrant lord" occurs also in Byron and Milman, and in Miss Alice Zimmern's translation of the first stanza (*Greek History for Young Readers*, 102 [1908]):

With myrtle for a sheath I'll wear the sword
Harmodius and Aristogeiton drew
The day they smote and killed the tyrant lord
And gave to Athens freedom fair and true.

Compare with this Milman's first stanza, of which it is almost an echo.

⁵See *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 9.128. Correct the reference there to Warner to read 28. 15, 177.

In myrtle wreath my sword I sheathe,
Thus his brand Harmodius drew;
Thus Aristogeiton slew
The tyrant lord in freedom's cause,
And gave to Athens equal laws.

Dr. Mierow deserves hearty congratulations for having started a commentary on the Harmodius Hymn, such as is wholly lacking in the notes on it in Farnell's *Greek Lyric Poetry*, Smyth's *Greek Melic Poets*, and the other editions. May others add still more. We need an edition of the whole *Anthologia Lyrica*, which will show the influence of the fragments on English and other literatures, to do for the *Anthologia Lyrica* what Professor Shorey has done for Horace, and Professor Smith for Tibullus.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. DAVID M. ROBINSON.

REVIEWS

Ancient Art and Ritual. By Jane Ellen Harrison.
New York: Henry Holt and Company (1913).
Pp. 252. \$56.

The rise of ancient Greek drama out of earlier ritual is the fascinating theme of this popular work, contributed to the Home University Library Series. The entire work is pervaded with the unquenchable enthusiasm of a brilliant scholar, who readily acknowledges her obvious indebtedness to J. G. Frazer¹ and Gilbert Murray². The first five chapters, in which the main thesis of the book is unfolded, are followed by two supplementary chapters, one on Greek Sculpture, the other on Ritual, Art and Life. The entire exposition is luminous and illuminating, while there are ample reiterations and numerous recapitulations for the uninitiated. The immediate value of this account of the rise of the Greek theater for a comprehension of the medieval and modern stage constitutes a further recommendation of this book to a popular series.

If at any time during the first five chapters the waters are obscure, it is not the fault of the author's lively imagination or sensitive scholarship, but attributable to the absence of absolute information. But readers of Miss Harrison's *Prolegomena* and *Themis* will be prepared to find here heavy demands made upon anthropological material to support her interpretation of the Greek dithyramb as not only a spring song at a spring festival, but especially as a song of bull-driving, the song and dance of the new birth of Dionysos. The rites of Osiris, "the prototype of the great class of resurrection-gods who die that they may live again", the rites of Adonis, ceremonies connected with the English Queen of the May and Jack-in-the-Green, parallels from the Esquimaux and from Australia are all employed to arrive at a clearer understanding of the antecedents of Greek drama. Having triumphantly reached her conclusions about the dithyramb, Miss Harrison boldly crosses the uncertain bridge from ritual

¹The Golden Bough.

²Excursus on the Ritual Forms preserved in Greek Tragedy, in Miss Harrison's *Themis* (*THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 7.86-88).

ceremony to earliest Greek drama. She finds it a grateful task to trace the evolution of the theater and to compare the psychology of ritual collectivity and emotional tension with that of the spectator and of the artist cut loose from immediate emotion and action. In no chapter does Miss Harrison more successfully achieve the proper methodology of popular yet dignified presentation than in her account of the inevitable decay of religious faith in Attica; accompanied as this decay was by the influx of a new culture with new dramatic material in the sixth century, there was a repetition of the old oft-repeated experience of an old religious mould receiving a new wine—in this instance that of heroic saga whereby the old stiff dithyramb emerged as a new living drama.

Acceptance or rejection of the main thesis does not affect the pleasure of reading an account at once so lucid and so intrepid³. The effort to track the Greek god to his original lair is sure to interest the lay reader, whose surprise that "primitive gods are personifications, —i. e. collective emotions taking shape in imagined form", should lead him to consult W. Robertson Smith, Grant Allen, and W. Warde Fowler. Miss Harrison's little book might well serve as the *finis a quo* for classical students also, for a sketch of the most complicated problems does not become enmeshed in subtleties or in contradictions, but opens the widest outlook upon just those fields least known to lovers of Greek literature, art and religion.

The final chapter essays the modest task of determining the function of art in the light of its ritual origin, and discusses such themes as Art and Morality, Art and Science, Art and Religion, the imitation theory of art and the expression theory. There is no chapter that is written more brilliantly or with more feeling, and a natural awe and suspicion on the part of the reader give way before the simplicity of this treatment. Special attention is called to Roger E. Fry⁴ and to Edward Bullough⁵; and art, originating in ritual, very naturally appears as detached from practical reactions even while emotion towards life remains the primary stuff of which art is made. The clear vision of the artist is purchased at the price of personal emancipation: yet, paradoxically, art of the present is represented as returning to its original moorings of ritual origins in the social function of art of the day as exemplified in such noble exponents as Galsworthy, Masfield, and Tagore.

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GEORGE DEPUE HADZSITS.

The Birds of the Latin Poets. By Ernest Whitney Martin. Stanford University, California: Published by the University (1914). Pp. 260.

The imagination of one who has never seen Italy except in dreams of anticipation is likely to people the

loveliest of landscapes with myriads of tuneful birds. How sad his disillusionment in most parts of the peninsula! Even in Italy man is a carnivorous animal, though there, as we know, an approach to what we should reckon vegetarianism was normal in antiquity. Being carnivorous and at the same time too poor to buy meat of a quadrupedal origin, a multitude of Italians cannot refrain from firing at every sort of living meat—for so they must visualize it in order to shoot so accurately—that flies across their line of vision. Consequently, in many sections of a land which might otherwise seem an ideal home for birds they have shot almost every winged creature from the face of the earth, and the foreigner, unmindful perhaps of more wanton destructiveness in his native land, laments, when he sees birds of exquisite plumage and all sorts of songsters suspended like bunches of beets in a butcher's shop, awaiting some hungry maw. The dead bodies are often no larger than that of a sparrow. And the worst of it is that such a large proportion of those killed are would-be inhabitants of more northern or more southern countries on their migrations.

To these cheerless ruminations the writer was led by a study of a monograph which indicates that birds once abounded in Italy. Professor Martin attempts (page 1) "to present, in their own words, a tolerably full picture of the Roman attitude toward bird life as reflected in their greatest poets". His collections of material are, he believes (1), "fairly comprehensive down into the second century of the Empire". The belief is justifiable¹, but his statement, "Omissions, errors, and the gap in the later poets may, of course, be checked from the *Archiv*, when finally completed", is open to query².

In his identifications he depends on the books of experts, which he lists in his Bibliography, and they do not always agree. For instance, his first bird, the *acalanthis*, was probably a warbler. See the cogent argument of Royds, *The Beasts, Birds and Bees of Virgil*, 49-51. We should have been glad to find more of the writer's own constructive reasoning, such as appears on page 13, on *acredula* = a bird, and on page 69, on the genuineness of the marginal line at *Georgics*, 1.389.

Professor Martin's unusually extensive reading of the American poets has enabled him to give from them literary parallels which are often of much interest. For many of these, as strikingly apposite and in themselves beautiful, classical teachers will be grateful, but it is inevitable that some should be such as can be called poetry only by courtesy, since meter alone made their authors poets. Yet even the weary, limping lines are probably worth citing, for they help to indicate (3) "how much of the ornithological tradition of the classics had percolated, as it were, through time and distance to our own shores", and, incidentally, how

³Compare Professor Flickinger's review of F. M. Cornford, *The Origin of Attic Comedy*, in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 8.221-223; and William Ridgeway, *The Origin of Tragedy*.

⁴An Essay in Aesthetics, in *The New Quarterly*, April, 1909.

⁵"Psychical Distance" as a Factor in Art and an Aesthetic Principle, in *The British Journal of Psychology*, 1912.

¹I miss, however, on the prattling of the house martin Vergil *Georgics* 4.307 *garrula quam tignis nidum suspendat hirundo*.

²Did the author have the *Thesaurus* in mind?

essential knowledge of Greek and Latin must ever be to any real student of American literature. The basis of choice for the inclusion of the few passages from English poets is not always clear: a case in point is afforded by the lines from Burns and Tennyson, cited under *Fulica* (97).

Of course, the allusion in the American poem cannot always be to precisely the same species of bird, but only a carping critic will object to such correlations as e. g. *galbulus* and our Baltimore oriole, or to the appearance of the robin among the parallels for *merula*. 'The over-sea sparrow', *passer marinus*, as an ostrich (166-167), will perplex only the untutored.

Certain generalizations are sure to interest the reader, for instance the statement (2) that the Romans "nearly always felt a tone of sadness in the songs of their favorite song birds, where we are inclined to feel joy and ecstasy", a feeling due "to the widespread ancient belief in the metamorphosis association". So in Statius, *Achilleis* 1.378, *hilaris*, as used of pigeons, "is almost unique" (59), and (18) "Vergil's simple observation of the halcyon's habits and his freedom from the traditions of metamorphosis, etc., mark a characteristic which makes him the greatest Roman nature-poet". Especially welcome are such citations as that from Elliot (83), proving that swans do sing before they die, and the charming, though perhaps uncalled for, poem by Mace (121), *Legend of the Swallow*.

Since Professor Martin's book is one which every teacher of the Classics can use with profit, it may be well for us to note some of the misprints and blunders, using T and B to denote, respectively, the top and the bottom half of the page: Page 13 T, *unquibus* for *unguibus*; 37 B, (Martial) V, 50 for V, 55; 66 T, *nervuom* for *neruom* and *Quolis* for *Qualis*; 70 B, *consuedent* for *consuadent*; 71 T, (Propertius) IV, 5, 13 for IV, 5, 16; 74 T, *iuvenem* for *iuvenem*; 76 B, *membri* for *membra*; 82 T, *'lap* for *lap*; 83 B, *Minco* for *Mincio*; 90 T, *limia* for *limina*; 94 B, *revertisse* for *revertisse*; 109 T, *HALIAEETOS* for *HALIAËTOS*; 128 B, *custide* for *cuspidi*, and, in the note, "volketymology" for 'folk-etymology' or 'Volksetymologie'; 129 T, *aciperis* for *acciperis*; 141 B, *cepilte* for *cespitem*, and *indice* for *iudice*; 142 B, *unquibus* for *unguibus*; 145 T, *amer* for *amor*; 160 B, *frunilas* for *frunitus*; 164 B, *qui* for *cui* and *novat* for *norat*; 165 T, *Maripor* for *Marcipor*; 167 T, *saepuis* for *saepius*; 174 B, *necisse* for *necece*, and *Ansoniis* for *Ausoniis*; 181 B, *Talitur* for *Taliter*; 192 B, (Amor.) II, 37 for II, 6, 37; 206 B, *Sphynx* for *Sphinx*; 218 T, *pruinias* for *pruinis*; 223 B, "gooose" for "goose".

There are some queer things: e. g. on 37, Tusc. Dis. II. X; 77, Horace, Ep. I. 16.48 listed as a proverb; the succession *haliaetos*, *haliaetos* and *haliaetos* on 109-110; 190, the insertion of the list at the bottom of the page under the heading *Psittacus*; 198, the separation of the headings *Rustica* and *Scolopax*, though the contents under the headings are alike; the repeated references to Baehren's *Fragmenta Poetarum Roma-*

norum under the abbreviation P. L. M., e. g. on 65, 172, and 200.

The author should perhaps have said something on page 55 of the masculine form *columbus* (compare the mixed genders of the epithets on 57), and on 82 of the spellings *cycnus* and *cygnus*.

The book closes with four notes: The Spring Migration and Spring Song (222-226), The Fall Migration and the Fall Song (227-231), The Hibernating of Birds (232-235), and *Ruscina* (236-244). This last is reprinted from *The Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 38 (1908). In it Professor Martin, with the help of natural history, of folk-lore and of similar phenomena in modern nomenclature, as well as by philological argument, explains convincingly the parallelism in the Old-English gloss, *acalantis*, vel *luscina* vel *roscinia*, *nectegela*, as due originally to a confusing of birds.

The Bibliography (245-248) makes no pretence at completeness but will prove useful to anybody. One of the older works not listed, which has been of service to the reviewer, is Lenz, *Zoologie der Alten Griechen und Römer*, deutsch in *Auszügen aus deren Schriften*.

The Index (249-260) is instructive from several points of view. Thus, while Martial has provided almost as many references to birds as Ovid and more than Vergil, the Index shows that Catullus very rarely introduced them into his verses.

The reviewer hopes that *The Birds of the Latin Poets* will not only figure in the working library of teachers, but also accompany many a traveller to Italy. If he has just visited headlands of Sicily or of the island of Capri and observed the catching of thousands of quails on their migration, or visited the villages of southern Tuscany and seen that sad sight, la civetta, the ancient *noctua*, perched in the blinding sun on a stake in front of its owner's house, conveniently for every passing boy to chase it with infinite glee to the end of its chain, or watched this little owl's operations in the fields, tied to the end of a pole, as it lures the inquisitive larks to their doom from the guns of the 'sportsmen', or if he has been lucky enough to hear some rare survivor among the nightingales make glad the shores of Como in the evening, the book will remind him of a time before the invention of fire-arms, when birds were happier, let us hope, but at any rate, more numerous in the most delightful of all lands to a classical student.

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IN THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 7.56 Professor Lane Cooper, of Cornell University, called attention to the fact that he was preparing a Concordance to Horace and asked a notice from classical scholars concerning the best way to present the material. Late last year the Concordance was published, by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. (pages ix + 593. \$7.00). Of this beautiful and valuable book I shall write more in detail later.

C. K.

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Single copies, 10 cents. Extra numbers, 10 cents each, \$1.00 per dozen.

Printed by W. P. Humphrey, 300 Pulteney St., Geneva, N. Y.

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